1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ĕar il-Maasae 'ñgorōyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naañgiri, nemepwo.

Ten ĕar ol-móruo e-ñgorōyōni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tōki eitarueiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-móruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idya-ñgorōyōni nashōmo kitala, nemeitōki ol-openy aar, amu [626] ĕure lido-tuñgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ñgorōyōni en-dōki kitok, p' eiyōlōu ajo ĕari, nelo eng-añg e-menye, neishori en-gitañg nalōtu [431] e-ñgorōyōni asaiye ol-móruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gäa.

964 55 Ten ĕä ol-tuñgani loo-'l-Maasae, neituraari ten a en-gerai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ñgorōyōni; nenuki eng-arna too-'l-tuñganak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dōki naipotyeki inna-arna, neishori ae-arna nemenyikita en-e-'ldo ōtua.

Ore ten ĕä ol-tuñgani oti ōji Ol-ōnana, nemeipot te-'ng-añg e-menye en-nanai amu

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i. e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-onana (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

● [586] [1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast. [823]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away. 834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children. 606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry. 586

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'esher*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Marei*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Massini oinoti*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the hyænas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ag*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-aji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of " foreigners " (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term " adoption " is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aitoyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

/45 cont./

583 not alone, however, but with the support of a friend. The honey pot is hung on a horizontal pole, one of them grasping each end. It is not the weight of the pot that makes this method of carrying necessary, but an ancient custom, about whose meaning I have discovered [556] nothing. Wealthy people often also pay up to four cows more than usual, which is then regarded as the highest price that may be demanded. Beauties, as well as daughters of distinguished people, that is, of wealthy and influential people, often stand above the [587] average price. The price for childless widows and for childless, divorced women is the same as for young girls. for a widow who bore daughters, on the other hand, only a male and a female head of cattle are paid. In order that her father does not receive bride price twice, however, he gives back from the first one as much as the second one amounts to. For the second, third, etc. wife, just as much is paid as for the first. If the bride price is in part deferred for the bridegroom, the woman nevertheless passes into his possession provisionally, and likewise the children born before the final settlement of the bride price belong to him. If, however, he then ab- [586] solutely refuses to pay the rest, the father-in-law or the mother-in-law has the right to take back the daughter with her children in exchange for the return of what has already been paid. The cattle paid as bride price must be plain black or white. With the payment [606] of the bride price, the bride withdraws from her family. In /46/ some lineages, however, there still prevails a -- so it seems -- formerly general custom, according to which the father-in-law does not lose the right to interfere in the domestic relations of the young couple until the son-in-law has further given him a bull. The relatives of the bridegroom need not contribute the payment of the bride price, but usually do it if it is necessary. The bride does not get a dowry, just as the bridegroom does not receive a gift from his parents or parents-in-law. If one of the betrothed dies before the 583 marriage or dissolves the betrothal, the portion of the bride price 586 that was paid is returned. If the husband turns the wife out or the marriage remains fruitless, this has no influence on the bride price paid, while a possible remainder not yet paid remains unpaid. On the other hand, if a childless woman leaves her husband, the

/46 cont./
583 father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter
• [586] admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the
[607] bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer,
[572] each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony,
[613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magesan and El kiboron do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe
614 of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 20 years,
178 however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai,
[731] have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may
[613] marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/48 cont./

585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomöni or ol ömischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk- [822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 587 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon • 586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

/49 cont./

586 then temporarily move to her mother's, and the man has the right, in the course of the next four or five months, to state definitively [687] whether or not he wants to have the woman back. If he demands her return, she must obey; otherwise she may marry again at the end of [861] the stated period of time. The parents must then pay back the full bride price to the divorced husband, though he may refuse to accept it, and, to be sure, with the legal consequence that all the children that the woman may still bear belong to him.

Her male relatives seek to persuade a runaway -- not divorced -- wife to return, at first amicably, and, if this is of no avail, by a beating in the presence of the husband, while the husband, in that he keeps the children to whom the woman gives birth, hopes to achieve her return by means of mother love. It is said that only in the rarest cases is there a lack of success, especially since no [587] pleasant fate awaits the resisting woman. She may not legally marry [839] again, and, if she goes to another man in order to remain with him [851] permanently, the children arising from this affair belong to the man whom she left. Though the principle is valid that all children remain with the father, he almost always keeps only the boys and leaves the girls to the mother. The latter also takes along any male suckling and keeps him, but only until he is weaned. Then she must return him to his father. Divorce during a woman's pregnancy does not occur. If two divorced spouses wish to remarry, /50/ the woman returns to the man without any ceremony. Divorce is generally rather rare. Usually the man lets the woman from whom he wishes to be separated live peacefully in one of his huts, but he does not pay any attention 837 to her. Barrenness is not grounds for divorce, nor is marital infidelity [586] on the part of the woman, a concept with which the Masai ethic is not familiar (1).

1. /The following footnote is a translation of the Latin of the original source./ A husband entrusts his wife to the guest at night, while he himself spends the night outside the dwelling. To keep the wife from the guest is considered insulting. Wives are accustomed to sleeping at any time with interchanged

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words eñ gulugoni eñ gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or eñ dian eñ gob, dirty fellow, or os soid eñ gob, dirty stone.

578 192 Invectives and curses are:

ol meneñani (or eñ meneñani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ischobo (Eñg ai eñ abiak, which means: may God give you the serious sickness "abiak";

es súti = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt;

ol agaescherteta = fall down;

ol agaua 'Ng ai, that is, may 'Ng ai take you away;

ol agatoñóro ol assurai = may the snake bite you;

ol againassà ol ugaru = may the lion devour you;

ol agatadoijirič èñg olon = go away along with the sun;

ol agoimisso or redji = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó ñ otonji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/;

ol orobó eñg arnasche = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/;

hai, eñg inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/;

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kíregen = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/; and os sinoni = scorned by the girls, ol orobó eñg ikau énje = accumbens filiae maximae natu /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ñg abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]